423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngiǒzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

821 [56] HAIRY--srǎchan or SHrǎchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladákis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHón. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHóns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

•[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

[595]

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

•[771] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

751 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

776 also made a profound impression upon Namgyal at an early age. She is supposed to have come into being from the tears of Chanrezig, the tears which he shed from grief over suffering creatures. She is thought to be invested with the same power as the latter; she frees from all distress each person who approaches her, eradicates the sins of all births, defeats all enemies, even the demons, and finally leads those who put their trust in her into the painlessness of nirvana. She also bestows earthly goods, above /162/ all she bestows upon women the blessing of children that they have prayed for. Namgyal listened with deep emotion to the legends of this "most benign, most holy mother," which were told him, and at the command of his father he learned by heart a series of prayers addressed to her. Through his lively interest and eagerness to learn, Namgyal thus gradually became acquainted with many of the thousands of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, (all together about four million gods of all classes can be counted), from the narratives and pictures. In his thoughts he occupied himself with these, even if he did not succeed in discerning a clear line in the confusion of figures and ideas, which his thinking and his questions could pursue. The older he became, the more he recognized, partly through the instructions of the hermit, that the striving of the pious man must above all direct itself towards one point: the liberation from the entaglements of this world and with it from suffering. But it was just here that he missed the clear guidance. There was a mass of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saviours, and "redeemers." To each one were ascribed certain powers and qualities as a helper, "roads to salvation" were indicated, which, in part, ran in opposed directions. Namgyal searched in vain for the one straight path which led to true freedom. His awe of the great Unknown One, darkly surmised, and his feeling of dependence upon him, drove the boy and later the man to prayer as his educators and advisors taught him.

• 771 In order to understand Namgyal's pious striving, we must insert here a brief word concerning the praying of the Buddhist. Primitive Buddhism knew neither prayer nor ritual worship of deities, nor did it have a priesthood. In Buddhism, which is after all atheistic in essence, there was no room for the worship of a deity. The Buddha himself, it is true, did not deny the existence of gods, but to him they were beings which, like all others, are in need of redemption and which are not entitled to demand worship. Nor could the one who was "extinguished" in nirvana become the object of worship himself. According to Gautama Buddha's doctrine the seeker after salvation

did not require a redeemer, since the redemption was exclusively the work of the pious person himself who brought about his liberation by turning away from the world, /163/severing all ties to the world, killing off all desires, and finally also killing off the will to live. But as time went by it became more and more recognized among the pious Buddhists, that the most devout of humans beings is incapable of effecting his salvation unaided. The seeker after salvation came to feel more and more, as his efforts towards liberating himself met with failure, the need to implore divine assistance in prayer; because he realized that without a divine helper standing over him he would be unable to walk along the difficult "eightfold path" to painlessness. 771 •

From this need there sprang the saving powers. People looked for helping divinities, and they believed they could find them. At first they thought in silent worship of the great master (Buddha) and of his great disciples; they sought the holy places which had been trodden by the master's foot, following ancient Indian custom they circled around the places hallowed by him, in pious memory of him, in the direction of the course of the sun (so that the sacred object is to one's right), they erected memorials (dagobas, stupas, chorten) over relics of Buddha and other Great Ones. The relic service was the first form of a cult in Buddhism. From this there developed, in the course of the centuries, a regular worship of Buddha, an adoration of the person of Him who was extinguished in the nirvana. The people were scarcely aware of the nonsensical nature of this activity. What they did in effect was to drag the Extinguished One, the Substanceless One back into the sphere of the corporeal, and in imagination they furnished him with divine characteristics and powers. They erected temples for him, in which his disciples who were pronounced saints,, were worshiped along with him; here the person tortured by sorrows and frightened, approached with childish trust the "Three Jewels" (Sanskrit, triratna; Tibetan, dkon-mc̄og gsum): the Buddha, the sacred Law (dharma), and the Monkhood (samgha), the trinity which may have remained impossible to grasp by his thought, but in which the pious person nevertheless surmised the power that brought salvation, and to which he went for refuge in case of external or of inner distress.

Gradually there was added to these "Three Jewels" an immense legion of purely fabricated Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons. In the course of time the entire pantheon of Hinduism was /164/ incorporated into Buddhism, and upon the latter's migration to Tibet in the seventh and the eight centuries there was added again the entire 77

but with less frequency. The notion of a life in the Joyful Paradise has infinitely more attraction for the healthy sense of the Tibetan, as well as of the Chinese, the Japanese and of the Mongolians, than the concept of a nebulous nirvana. 782

Frequently Namgyal prayed to the benign goddess Tara (sgrol-ma), the feminine Bodhisattva, the wife of the great Merciful One, Avalokitesvara (149). One of the prayers addressed to her went as follows:

149. Mahayana Buddhism adopted a great many new ideas with much tolerance and adaptability during the first few centuries of our time in India. Among these belongs the concept of the pairs of deities. The Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, and the gods and demons were each given a female complement, a "Feminine Energy" (Sanskrit, Shakti, Tibetan, nus-ma). In this conjunction, special powers were supposed to be bestowed upon the gods. In art, in paintings and bronzes, these divine couples were represented in embrace. It is certain that strongly sexual motifs play their part here, even though the lamas try to deny this. The lamas explain that the union signified symbolically the animation of dead matter through the spirit, and similar things. These ideas constitute a part of the Tantra system which first entered Indian Buddhism during the seventh century A. D. The yogi (ascetic) of the older school of yoga, strove for union with the world soul (yoga) through fasting, asceticism, and meditation. Through becoming one with the world soul they wanted to achieve release from the bonds of earthly existence. Later, in the practice of the Tantra school, the forms became cruder. By means of Tantras (exorcisms) the magician invoked gods and demons with whom he pretended to enter into mystical union, thus appropriating their magical powers by means of which he was able to perform "miracles." [771]

"Hail to thee, Green Tara (150), thou releaser of all living

150. Tara had three phenomenal forms: There is a White Tara, a Green Tara, and a Golden Tara; the Green Tara is the most popular and the most widely worshiped one.

764 position in a corner of the living room, unless the corner just happens to be inhabited by the household god: the onpo decides upon that. The corpse has its share of each meal placed in front of it.

is also hung in front of it.

/219/ THE ACTIVITY OF THE ONPOS (SOOTHSAYERS AND MAGICIANS), THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BON RELIGION (17), AT THE INTERMENT

771 17. Coming from present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion penetrated into Tibet at approximately the same time as Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced from present-day Afghanistan (Udyana). It (the Bon religion) represents a peculiar mixture of the ancient popular religion of the peoples of Persian race residing there and of Mahaya Buddhism which at that time was also widespread in that region. Despite the [798] similarity and close kinship of the two clashing religions in Tibet, there was kindled a very bitter war between the two religious forms in Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the rulers and their priests there attempted to make Buddhism into the dominant religion. But Buddhism has never been able to exterminate the Bon religion. Hence this existence side by side of lamaistic and of Bon practices.

791 There are three kinds of onpos: first, white ones, secondly, black ones, and such who practise black and white magic at one and the same time. The white magicians prepare the calendar and occupy themselves with the calculation of the retribution (abras-rtsis) of human deeds. The black magicians undertake their exercises according to the manner of the Bon religion. Since they know black as well as white magic, they also prepare the calendar. They perform religious exercises and rites in the manner of the Bon.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, 764
in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of 787
the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 789
'Khorlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this
wa, the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the cere-
monies resulting from them to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo
performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion.
Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas)
are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises
of the onpos continue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer
fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the
birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures
(animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted
images (tanka) of the same.

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (śa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning towards Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests. [771]

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contra-distinction to Those of the Onpos) 764

Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chóng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *Ihás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *Ihá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

* *Srog machhat, i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 [493] Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 782 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

la ilaha illa–'llah:
Mohammed rasulu–'llah.
No god but Allah: Mohammed
is the messenger of Allah.

• 771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh–2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist country, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

797 175 648

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

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actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *ltadmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on conjecture and turn to that founded on written records either inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been dis...herited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger ...her had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, ...aged to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a ...hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

757 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly
164 addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its
754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive
175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old canni-
● 771 balism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without
757 our help! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the
876 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XX

Demons, Dances & Dinners

IN this country in which practically all the religious ritual is of the old demon worship origin, one would expect to find belief in the possession of man by demons. The Ladaki at any rate does not doubt the reality of such possession, and one is inclined to think that in spite of much fraud, there is a substratum of fact in it. Discussing this matter with a colleague one day, he affirmed that he had once had a woman patient who " really was possessed by a devil," and, in reply to the query as to how he had treated her, he said that a good dose of castor oil had cured her ! However, the reader shall judge for himself from the following experiences.

Some years ago we heard that in Marshro, a village situated a day's march from Leh, two brothers would become possessed by two very fierce demons, and my colleague and I decided to investigate the performance. Having arrived there, we were given a nice large room in the monastery, which proved somewhat too airy, as the time of year was mid-winter and one side of our apartment was completely open to the wintry air. However, by donning the rough native sheepskin coats, and ignoring their smell, we managed to make ourselves fairly comfortable, especially when we, with our servants, sat round a large pot of steaming Irish stew. As we enjoyed this warming and welcome dish, our table companions, waxing loquacious, told us of how these demons originally came from Central Tibet to reside in

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back into his priestly vestures, which, needless to say, suited him far better. Before he finally retired to change into them, he straightened himself and squared his shoulders, in order to show us that he also possessed a waistcoat ; but, alas ! between the bottom of that garment and the top of his trousers was a hiatus in which his holy brown body was disclosed. Short of stature, with a strong convergent squint, and scarred by small-pox, indisputable signs of his being the true re-incarnation of his predecessors, for he was sure that he himself had never had small-pox since this re-birth, the foreign clothes hardly showed him off to advantage. The next occasion on which he visited us he retained his *Skushog's* garb and had a photograph taken of himself and his suite, the incongruous element being that his most intimate servant was not a lama, but a Mussulman with short hair and a Tibetan cap with four fur-lined flaps.

After his first call, we took the opportunity of a day's holiday to ride over to Trigtse and visit him. We found him encamped in a *bagh* below and about a mile away from the monastery, in a gorgeous tent with nice camp furniture. We ourselves had brought a picnic lunch, at which he elected to join us. The Memsahib was much amused to find that for her first attempt at meat patties, she had put sugar into the pastry instead of salt, but the *Skushog* seemed to find this quite to his taste, and enjoyed them immensely. Afterwards we all repaired to the monastery, riding our ponies up the steep ascent, and he showed us over it, including all his own private apartments.

But things soon began to go wrong and all sorts of rumours reached Leh. The *Skushog* declared in public that he did not believe in his own office or his religion. When the common people knelt as he rode past, instead of placing his hand on their heads in benediction, he boxed their ears. He had no reverence for the holy property of the monastery, but sold many of its treasures to any good bidder ; he also had the

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792 idols out in a row to use as targets for a shooting practice. His colleague at Hemis sent him a letter, and this he returned with a donkey drawn across the bottom as his pertinent and only reply.

626 One day matters came to a crisis : his lamas gave him a severe beating and shut him up in solitary confinement. Yet by every token he was their *Skushog*, and one of them seems to have relented and released him. The two came to Leh, where the *Skushog* first went to the State Hospital to have his external wounds attended to by the Indian Sub-Assistant Surgeon, but his internal treatment he could only trust to the English doctor, so for that he came to the Mission Hospital, where he also received a lesson on Western professional etiquette. The monasterial difficulties resulted in a court case, following which certain of his lamas were sent to prison in Leh, which hardly bettered the relations between them and their spiritual head.

It was not now practicable for him to return to Trigtse, and the question arose as to what was to be done with him, for still he was their *Skushog* and entitled to the financial benefits of his office. The matter came up before the British Joint Commissioner, the Wazir or State Joint Commissioner, and eventually was taken to H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The result of it all was that in 1916 he went down to India, and for two or three years vanished into oblivion. Early in 1920 he again appeared in Ladak with one lama servant, giving stange accounts of his experiences in India. He said that he had served as a common sepoy in Baluchistan, alleged that in some capacity he had been as far as Basra, that he had acted as bearer to an English officer with alcoholic tendencies, and also that he had been connected with a Colonel Sahib in the neighbourhood of Madras, who had treated him as his own son, and of whom he always spoke with sincere and friendly gratitude. He still maintained his utter disbelief in the religion of his fathers. The people

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

called him "the Mad Skushog," but, said he, "I am not mad, I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenance and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one else could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirely repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed him to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and the Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted that the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity, and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moravian missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficult situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipated life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruction, telling him that study and probation were necessary first. He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, who found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, to whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds were perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our minds can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could not believe.

At about this time, living as he was with his one lama servant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist homes alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. After taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill, and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionaries and begged them to take him into their compound, where he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he was given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look up the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting on his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still suspected that the desire to join the Christian religion was secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found that he had hoped to get a political post under the British Government, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Without it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetans would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them up

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ...betans AJ4

in yak's skins and casting them out in the desert to be shrivelled to death. A Bishop was coming to visit the Mission, and the British Joint Commissioner would soon be coming up for the summer months, so he waited with us for both, though meanwhile he went away for two or three weeks to fetch some of his property from Zankskar. He took his lama servant with him, and, before starting, secured what he considered was an outfit of European clothes. When remonstrated with, he replied that he had thought over the matter carefully, and wished to show that he had made a clean cut with the old life. On his way down we heard that he stuck to his profession of Christianity, asked a blessing before his meals, read his New Testament aloud, and, when the usual offerings were brought to him by ardent Buddhists,—for still he was a *Skushog*,—only took them under protest, saying that he himself had no blessing to give. Arrived at Zankskar he obtained his pony and goods, but his lama deserted him, in fact he seemed to have had a rough time, and he came back alone. Strange it was to think of this high-born ecclesiastical dignitary travelling in the Orient with no servant, though doubtless credulous Buddhists were still eager to obtain merit by providing for his wants at each stage. A short waiting time remained, during which he often came to meals with us, rode and talked with us, proving an entertaining companion and a gentlemanly guest. He also continued his instruction and attended church services regularly, sitting on the floor with the other members, and entering into the responses and hymns with apparent sincerity and enjoyment.

Finally, through the British Joint Commissioner, he was given a post in the Secret Service at Gyangtse, just across the Tibetan border on the Darjeeling side, and left Leh with letters of reference and recommendation, vowing that in two years he would come back to complete his instruction in the Christian faith.

So this strange youth vanished from our midst. We

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 159 ●771 learned afterwards that with the Maharajah's sanction, he obtained Rs500 from the Trigtse *dGonpa* to help him to get home, though the lamas would commit themselves to no statement as to whether they still regarded him as their *Skushog* or not, but at the monastery itself they always refer to him as the "Mad Skushog" still, and can appoint no successor during his lifetime. The last news we were able to obtain was from a lama, returning from Lhasa and visiting relations near Leh, who said that he was still alive, and that he and his father had saved their skins owing to the latter's wise forethought at the time the deputation first fetched his son from Tibet Knowing the lad's extraordinary character, he had taken the precaution to draw up a document, stating that the Trigste lamas insisted on taking the boy away, both against his own will and the son's. This paper eventually saved their lives, but the father was subsequently dismissed from his high post in the government and relegated to a lower one, while the son seems to live in a place of internment somewhere in the Closed Land, though not in Lhasa itself, provided with a house and fields, but segregated with other renegades, where, as the Trigtse lamas put it, he has not now the power to do so much mischief.

79v Coming down the valley we meet our next Incarnation at Spitug, another lamasery picturesquely perched on a hill. When we first came to Leh, he was personified by an old man bearing the pontifical name of Bacola whose reputation did not savour of holiness. His other, and smaller, monastery at Sankar, just behind Leh, often received visits from him, so that he was not infrequently met on the six miles of road between. He died in 1917, but it was not for two or three [775] years that we heard that he had been re-incarnated in the second son of the *rGyalpo* (King) of Marshro, a petty Rajahship some fourteen miles away. Through his mother, who, like the old Bacola, came from Zankskar, his present physical body is a great-nephew to his former one. When this small

Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXVI

The Lure of Ladak

THE festival at Hemis is, as it were, a grand climax to all the strange things we see and find in this extraordinary country, which culminate in its religious practices. We have described lightly the outward ceremonies and appearances of the masque, emphasizing perhaps its humorous details, conscious and unconscious: yet, when we review it as a whole, we cannot but be appalled at its deeper significance, nor can we fail to realize that this country of cheery, attractive, lovable folk is a prey to the most rampant demonology. Where all the best religions of the world will at least point upwards, as it were, to "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" as worthy of contemplation, here the whole force of Lamaism directs the people's attention downwards to that which is impure, ugly, evil. Surely in spiritual matters they are "upside down" rather than we. The study of their horoscopy alone impresses one with the terrible burden of it all, the endless costly offices imposed on the common ignorant, superstitious people by Lamaism. It is rightly stated that "one family alone is prescribed a sufficient number of sacerdotal tasks to engage a couple of lamas fairly fully for several months of the year."

The rites enjoined to overcome the difficulties of the conflicting horoscopes of relations dwelling together, the ceremonies necessary to nullify evil influences in connection, not only with the crises of life to which we have referred, but with

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism.

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival.

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. And this same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

"dragon," frequently alternates with aBrugu-rna. This goddess might have come by the name rDo-rje-chen-mo as the wife of Kesar, who, according to the Glin-glu song No. 9 of Khalatse, is shown to be a rDo-rje-pa, a wielder of the thunderbolt. In this song he flings a lightning bolt at the cloud dragon. The lightning proceeds, however, directly from the rdo-rje (or Indic vajra). It is, therefore, just at the harvest festival that honor is paid the goddess, /31/ who is usually called upon for the blessing of offspring. The third one of the songs of Shel contains a eulogy of the yak, which is of great importance during the harvesting, for one thing, as a beast of burden for the sheaves, and for another as the leader of all those animals that thresh the ears of grain by walking over the sheaves. The song of Skyur-bu-can contains in its main section a game of riddles concerning the treasures of the countries of the four points of the compass. In Skyur-bu-can I also got to see, as I have already mentioned, the peculiar dance of the flowers. The flowers needed for the flower offering are not taken from the gardens by the houses, but are gathered high up on the mountain slopes just below the snow boundary. These flowers, which exude an overpoweringly strong, sweet odor, are wound around long staffs, and, carrying these poles in their hands, the shepherd boys have to execute complicated round dances to the accompaniment of an oboe and kettledrums. As we know from the songs of Shel, the flowers are then supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess rDo-rje-mo. In Skyur-bu-can, though, I observed that these flower poles were laid down inside the Buddhist temple. The festival is, of course, connected with many dances of a general nature and with feasts at which beer prepared /taking bereites as a misprint for bereitetes--Translator./ from green barley grains, plays an important role. This leads us to the name of the festival. The syllable lha is the ordinary word for "god" (deva). The syllable srub, on the other hand, corresponds to the word srus, or srub, which means "ears of grain that are almost ripe." The Srub-lha festival is therefore the festival of the very earliest harvest. As can be seen from ancient rock drawings, people contented themselves at this festival with having larger animals, oxen, horses, and so forth, represented by throwing a blanket over several persons. [532]

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The Goal of the Ancient Religion

From the preceding it becomes apparent that the ancient Tibetans expected only earthly gifts from their gods. Kesar, the

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771 773 son of the king of heaven, was worshiped on earth as the bringer of spring. From him and from his wife aBru-gu-ma people expected the blessing of a harvest and of offspring. With respect to the life after death they had entirely animistic conceptions.

113 773 775 In the saga of "Kesar's Beloved Mon" (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II. p. 467) we read that this Mon had been killed by being pushed off a cliff. When Kesar approached the corpse, he heard a voice speaking from it. He opened the dead body with his knife and out of it came two Mon devils, one male and one female. These devils Kesar carried home, wrapped up in a piece of cloth. In the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po we read the following (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 321): the Agu mDa-dpon-gon-ma had been killed and had been entombed in a stupa. But people were very much worried that he might still be full of thoughts of revenge. For this reason an old hermit advised them to walk respectfully around the stupa of the dead Agu until a lizard came out of it and nodded its head. All this is fulfilled, and the dead man, moreover, is kind enough to give his son, who is praying to him, a piece of advice. This advice concerns an arrow which would be of particularly great use to him in battle.

In the saga dealing with Kesar's victory over the devil (or giant) Khya-ba (Khya-ba (Khyab-pa)-lag-rins (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 1164, p. 278) it is stated that the enraged Bam-za-abum-skyid went to the grave of this giant, her former husband, and that she roared into the grave. As an answer to her roar there was an earthquake. (The giant moved in his grave.) Thereupon Kesar rushed to the giant's grave and chanted magical formulas into the grave until it became impossible for its occupant to leave it.

From all this we can see that, though it was impossible for the ancient Tibetans to conceive of death /32/ as a complete annihilation of life, nevertheless, after what has been stated above, there can be no question of a conception of an idealized form of existence that will take place after death.

Such a delightful, disembodied life is led on the Olympus of the Tibetans, the mountain peaks of the Gans-ri (Kailasa). In the account that I wrote of my journey from upper Sutlej to the upper Indus, in 1909 (see Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 37) there is the following passage with respect to the Pu-rgyal mountain peak: "The baggage carriers of Chan pointed to those mountain peaks and said that up there was the magical country (aBa-yul), the dwelling place of the spirits. The inhabitants of this place are supposed to be very

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Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

778 " 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 921 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 921

Origin of the Rock Drawings [1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 - - Analysis]

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They are now fat like balls of butter,
In winter they will shrivel with leanness.
Refrain: "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The youths become stout-hearted,
The maidens' countenances become like mirrors.
Refrain: "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

In the morning the *dzo-mo* goes to the hills,
In the evening she returns to be milked.
Refrain: "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The threshing floor pole is propitious like silver,
The barley is heaped on the outer edge of the threshing floor.
Refrain: "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

When the straw is trodden out fine we are pleased,
When it is wet, it goes hard with the cattle.
Refrain: "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

From early morning you endure hardship,
Try hard, and continue to go round (the threshing floor).
Refrain: "*Tulu-ja, tulu-ja.*"

If you go to the top of the hills you reach a glacier,
If you go to the turf, you eat summer flowers.

Then having released the oxen from the threshing floor, and patting them on their backs with a besom, the peasant addresses them thus:—

H.

"May the grain increase;
As the oxens' horns become like cornelians,
So may the grain increase.
As your ears become like copper, so may the grain increase.
As your noses become like pipes of copper, so may the grain increase.
As your eyes become like the vowel "O," so may the grain increase.
As your lungs become like glistening white glaciers, so may the grain increase.
As your livers become reddish brown, to may the grain increase.
As your intestines become like a zig-zag path, so may the grain increase.

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This ends the social functions for the year. They are observed punctiliously, and the method of celebrating them varies not at all, for the people's slavish adherence to the proper

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observance of rites and ceremonies has become to them a religion, refraction of which is regarded in the light of a heinous offence. Moral delinquencies pale in significance before what is thought to be the *summum bonum* of life—the right etiquette in regard to rites and ceremonies.

NOTES.

Note A.—Original version. (Bunan dialect).

Ngon-tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Ser tri zhangso la yang ma hlai lo
De ser tri zhangso
Dai-ru la so zhuk lo
Dai-ru dai sumi zhughso.
Dai-ru la tangi dai Hla zhughso
Ma hlai lo, dai hla yang zhughso
Hla Ō-pam towi lo dai dai nas zhughs
Küli dai nas Hla zhughi lo dai trashis dzoddo.
Ngonsai kalpa hla zangboi lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Ma hlai lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Dai-ru su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru bar-gi hla dai tsan-i zhughso
Ma hlai lo dai tsan yang zhughs
Tsan rgyabri la zombai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Küli dai nas hla zhugghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngontshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai yu tri zhangso
Dai-ru la sui zhangso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la ok-i dai hlu yang zhughso
Ma hlai hlai lo dai hlu yang zhughs
Hlu Bunor hla zombai lo dai dai nas zhughs
Küli hlai lo dai nas zhoghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai dung tri zhangso
Dai-ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la dag' shar lo dai dai nas zhughso
Ma hlai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Küli dai nas la zhughs lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai shel tri zhangso
Ma hlai lo dai shel tri zhangso
Dai ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso.
Dai ru la gid-gi la nyen drung zhughso
Küli dai nas la zhughi lo dai trashis zoddo.

Note B.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Yow-i lai la gung-kar drawai shai gung ka toi bu dai
Yow-i dra dang jagpa medpai shai monlam gyang nas zig'.

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Lahul

SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the Rev.*

782 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held
●771 an important place in the religion practised
609 in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 Two stories of the last human sacrifices in
173 Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree
[14] in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

[241] "A man had to be killed every year for the "benefit of the fields of the community. The "peasants were to offer the victim in turns. "(They probably kept slaves, and these were "generally killed). One year it was a poor "widow's turn, and as she had no servants it "was understood that her only son was to be "sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly "about this, a wandering hermit came to her "house and offered to die in the place of her "son, if she would feed him well until the day "of execution. The widow gladly accepted the "offer, and on the appointed day the hermit "was led with much noise before the wooden "idol of the god of the fields. When the "executioner walked up with his axe to the "hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "'friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "'the god really wants to take my life.' Then "he stepped with the axe before the idol and "said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "'want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "'take yours.' As there was no reply, the "hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in "pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 "the river, and everybody went home."

173 The other story related to me concerning
114 the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

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Lahul

000 snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

782 Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

162 It is difficu[illegible]timate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul[illegible] A census can only be taken in the summer when the w[illegible]ows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for n[illegible]bouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparce-
162 ly populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main
361 valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

● 771 The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinct-
[199] ly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many pro-
[564] fess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste n[illegible]nials, black-smiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in
[193] their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

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lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

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a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries.

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by.

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony.

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness.

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders

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771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
619 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the popu-
181 lation are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
533 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
535 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an opportunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the
526 main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean
342 and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
132 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some